1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

25 January 1920 had asserted that non-Arab Muslim territories whether enemy-occupied or not, 'could not be divided' from Turkey; Kurdistan was the obvious reference. From this followed the propaganda campaign of 1920: the absurd pretensions to a throne in Baghdad put forward on behalf of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sanusi, who was brought by the Turks to Diyarbakr in 1921: their resumed control of the border districts and tribes of Van and Julamark: their seduction of the Kurdish chieftains of Rawanduz area, and their mission thither of a civil official with troops. With the wild Surchi predominantly pro-Turkish, and the Pishdar divided, Turkish penetration made progress in the summer of 1921. It was checked by the Royal Air Force, the 'Iraq Police, and loyal tribal Levies in the autumn, only to restart with a sudden murderous stroke by 'Ubaydullah of the Surchi, who ambushed a Levy party and was repulsed again by major operations of the 'Iraq Levies and R.A.F. in mid-winter. But the tribal submission which followed was precarious; 'Ubaydullah remained at large; and early in 1922 Turkish troop movements on the frontier, based on Nisibin and Jazira, presaged a further offensive. Meanwhile the Sulaymaniya area was relatively quiet in the absence of Shaykh Maḥmud and his near relations; but a group of Persian Kurds from the frontier were able to range the Ḥalabja plain, collect 'taxes', ambush a Levy force, and threaten the town until Air Force reprisals scattered them.

A further problem of desperate difficulty, and closely connected with the Turkish claims, was that of the Assyrians. Their recruitment, first reluctant then eager, into the 'Iraq Levies did not solve the riddle of their ever-demanded repatriation, nor even of their settlement as a compact community in 'Iraq. The death of Paulus Mar Sham'un in 1920 left the succession to a feeble boy of eleven, Ishai. It led to the rapid loss of much of his house's authority to such livelier adventurers as the notorious Aghā Petros of Baz, an international 'crook' with murder, blackmail, and fraud to his credit in both hemispheres—and a brave man. The latter's plan, a desperate *pis aller* reluctantly authorized by the British, was to lead his rabble of vindictive tribesmen in their thousands across hill and dale by 'Aqra to Urmiya. The project ended late in 1920 in wayside looting, savage reprisals, and final débâcle; and the Assyrian community were reconcentrated in their camp at Shaykh Mindan outside Mosul. From here the Urmiya sections of the nation decided early in 1921 to attempt to make their own way back to Persia by way of Baghdad; but of thousands who drew money and departed, the great majority were kept from reaching their homes by the cruel hardships of the road and by Persian opposition. They scattered and disappeared, or returned to seek

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

work in Baghdad. The Ḥakkari clans were settled, as far as great efforts and British expenditure could effect it, in the Government-owned villages of Dohuk and 'Amadiya districts, while hundreds of their more optimistic households passed over—ill-led, distraught by faction, and weakened by malaria—into their native hills across the border. Aghā Petros, their evil genius, was thankfully dispatched to Europe where he died in Paris soon afterwards. The Patriarchal household settled at Baybad, near 'Amadiya, sustained by the vigour and loyalty of Surma Khanim, the boy Patriarch's aunt. But the troubles of the hapless Assyrians, due so largely to their own fierce indiscipline, folly, and disunion, were not at or near their end.

For the Armenian refugees, who numbered some 15,000 at the time of their dispatch late in 1920 from Ba'quba to camp at Nahr 'Umar near Baṣra, other means of dispersal were sought. But their passive non-co-operation and sullen refusal to accept work in 'Iraq long defeated all the efforts made for them. Some measure of absorption in the cities or into Persia or among the Assyrians reduced their numbers, and most of the surviving main body of some 8,000 could at last be transported by ship to Batum—at the cost, as ever, of the British Government—by agreement with the new Armenian Government in Transcaucasia. The residue, still resisting all suggested forms of self-help, were induced by March 1922 to leave Nahr 'Umar, and the camp was closed.

2. THE FIRST TREATY

The proposal of the British Government to express the Anglo-'Iraq relationship by treaty, rather than by undisguised mandatory Government, was approved by the Amir before his arrival in 'Iraq, and seemed not to be opposed, initially, by nationalist spokesmen there. To both sides it appeared likely to minimize the odium of a humiliating guardian–ward relationship, and to invest 'Iraq from the outset with the dignity of an independent treaty-making State. It was, in fact, unquestionably the most prudent and most imaginative way to handle a situation which lacked all precedent; but, to the resentment of 'Iraqi patriots and the poisoning of Anglo-'Iraq relations for the next ten years, the Mandate itself remained. Unmentioned in the draft Treaty, it had nevertheless notoriously been awarded to and accepted by Great Britain, and was even now in draft and awaiting League ratification in the last days of 1921. The remoteness of such a situation from the 'Complete Independence' claimed by the nationalists was all too obvious, however the Mandate be interpreted, excused, or kept out of sight.

A view hostile to the Mandate, and suspicious of a Treaty however otherwise generous which merely veiled it, was inevitably

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MHI Iraq MHI

within the area now claimed by the British Government for 'Iraq as an indispensable safeguard for Assyrian resettlement. The provocative arrest and release by Assyrians of the Turkish Wali of Julamark, while visiting Chal in July 1924, abruptly embittered trans-frontier feeling. It was followed by the advance of considerable and long-prepared Turkish forces across the Ḥazil river into 'Iraq. They were evicted for the moment by Air Force action, helped by Assyrian irregulars gallantly mustered and led—but only to sweep back to attack and burn Assyrian villages and 'Iraqi police posts. Assyrian settlers, to a number of some 8,000 and largely destitute, were driven from their homes to seek safety around 'Amadiya. Neither the usual exchange of protests nor the debates of Geneva could prevent reprisals and repetitions, which achieved all too thoroughly the devastation of Kurdish as well as Assyrian areas of the frontier. Relief work and ultimately house-by-house resettlement, with Government help and taxation remissions for settlers, were provided in 'Iraq for the hapless refugees.

In Geneva the 30th Session of the League Council listened on and after 20 September to the now familiar arguments of the Turkish and British spokesmen, Fathi Bey and Lord Parmoor. The same historical, ethnological, economic, strategic, and political claims were advanced, to meet the same rebuttals and counter-claims. No line of agreement or compromise appeared. The decision accepted in the end by both sides provided for the mission to Mosul of a League Commission of Inquiry, whose verdict, if endorsed by the Council, was to be accepted by both parties. Meanwhile telegrams reaching Geneva and containing mutual charges of frontier violation compelled the establishment of an interim frontier line. This was fixed at a meeting held at Brussels on 29 October, to be known thenceforward as the 'Brussels Line'. It ran somewhat to the south of the alignment claimed by Great Britain, and thereby excluded some Assyrian areas; nevertheless, it was destined to form, scarcely amended, the permanent national frontier.

The Mosul Commission consisted of M. de Wirsen, a Swedish diplomat, as President, and as members Count Teleki, a former Prime Minister of Hungary and distinguished jurist and geographer, and Colonel Paulis, a retired officer of the Belgian Army. After visiting Istanbul and London it arrived in Baghdad in mid-January 1925, and was there joined by its secretariat, by assessors from both sides and—to the dismay of 'Iraqis and British—by two renegade ex-'Iraqis in the guise of Turkish experts, one a Kirkukli of the Naftchi family, the other a brother-in-law of Shaykh Maḥmud.

The Commission and its assessors and staff spent some days in

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kept him from trespassing into Ḥalabja and other 'Iraq-administered districts, and drove him frequently into Persia. He failed to secure the co-operation of the Jaf, was not uniformly successful in robbing their migratory sections, and desperately lacked funds to maintain his supporters. In Rawanduz area there was now no direct Turkish activity, and the cleavage in the Pishdar was ended by a reconciliation in favour of Babakr Aghā. On the northern frontier the significant feature of the period, apart from the Commission's visit and the immigration of Christians expelled from Turkey, was the influx of Kurdish refugees from the areas in which the Kurdish rebellion, headed by Shaykh Sa'id the Naqshbandi in February 1925 and at first widely successful, had led to firm or fierce Turkish reprisals. Escaping parties were led into 'Iraq by a son of Sayid 'Abd al-Qadir of Neri, and by a son and a brother of Shaykh Sa'id himself. These refugees were settled in 'Iraq territory in places remote from the frontier. In early 1926 further large bodies of trans-frontier Kurds sought refuge in Mosul wilaya. They included numbers of the Miran under Na'if Bey in February, who were settled in their own winter grazing area on the Tigris, and 7,000 of the Goyan in April. These were followed by a thousand Christians from the Tur 'Abdin area, and later by nearly 10,000, it was said, of the Artushi pouring into 'Amadiya area under the pressure of Turkish forces which had defeated and evicted them. The problem posed to the 'Iraq authorities by these unwanted and nearly destitute folk, whom the Turks refused to re-admit, was seriously embarrassing.

In general, the outlook at this period for the Kurdish area of 'Iraq seemed favourable. They were unaffected by the uprising and repression in Turkish Kurdistan. Normal administration of an elementary type prevailed in all four of the Kurdish liwās, save in a small Persian-frontier area of Sulaymaniya. Reasonable allowance was being made, with a good grace, for Kurdish susceptibilities in matters of language, law, procedure, schools, and the appointment of officials. Hundreds of Kurds were serving the 'Iraq State in civil and military posts at every level. Every corner of their own countryside had been penetrated by the disciplined forces—Army, Levies, Police—of the Government. Roads had been built or improved and were patrolled, telegraphs were extended, the tobacco trade encouraged and organized. Municipal government was progressing, security was general. Kurds sat in the Chamber of Deputies, in the Senate, and in the Cabinet. Their complete integration in the 'Iraq State seemed a not impossible hope.

The often-debated Assyrian question was by the spring of 1926 still far from settlement to their satisfaction, but it had at least passed for ever out of one phase, that of attempted repatriation to

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563 657 166 Turkey. The frontier was now established, and the impossibility of settlement in their old homes was cruelly manifest. Schemes for the establishment of the Assyrians in Canada or elsewhere overseas had been considered in London, and abandoned. In spite of 'Iraqi frowns at the self-conscious, ever discontented, and hardly manageable community, it seemed that they must settle in 'Iraq or nowhere. The surviving community of some 20,000 souls could never be concentrated in a single enclave, since 'Iraq afforded none which was sufficient, cultivable, and unoccupied. Hundreds of households of the Baz and Jelu clans had dispersed over the Mosul plain, the upper Tiyari and Takhuma in Dohuk and 'Amadiya districts, the lower Tiyari around Barwari Bala. It was hoped next to find room for a thousand households in the Baradost area of Rawanduz qadhā, and for more again in Barwari Zayr. Money was collected in England to assist them, seed and cattle were supplied. Pay earned in the Levies kept many families together; but the preservation of their communal identity, their pride of religion and tradition must devolve upon themselves, as it had devolved for so long on others of the Christian minorities in 'Iraq.

6. THE OTHER NEIGHBOURS

648* The relations of 'Iraq with its eastern neighbour were unsatisfactory; with persistent Persian denial of recognition of the new Kingdom, and with habitual bickering across a thousand-mile open frontier, they could not be otherwise. They grew worse with the controversy arising from the self-exile from 'Iraq of the Persian Mujtahids in 1923 (p. 149), and so persisted after their return next year and after the reopening in 1925 of the pilgrim traffic to the Holy Cities, in its new railway-borne fashion. They were not improved by the frontier tergiversations of Simko and the Persian Kurds, nor by quarrels, reminiscent of the days before 1914, between Persian and Baṣrawi Customs authorities on the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab: nor by the relations of the Wali of Pusht-i-Kuh with the Bani Lam, though these improved in 1924: nor by the perennial squabble over the Mandali water.

The supersession of the effete Qajar dynasty of Persia in the last days of 1924 by the virile but savage and uneducated adventurer and autocrat Riḍhā Shah Pahlavi at once revolutionized Persian public life in every region, and closely affected its neighbours. The lord of Pusht-i-Kuh, after a panic flight to 'Iraq, returned home to make the best terms he could with the rigidly centralizing dictator. The Shaykh of Muḥammara, Khaz'al Khan, so long the close friend of the British and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, unwisely failed to adapt himself to the new exigencies, and quarrelled with the Persian Government in conditions which gave the British

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Government had in fact, not without lapses, maintained the principle of employing Kurdish officials, other than technical, in Kurdish areas. It now proceeded to reaffirm this and to enact a Language Law in the interests of Kurdish-speakers, to set up a translation bureau, to appoint a Kurdish Inspector of Education for north-eastern 'Iraq, and a Kurdish Assistant Director-General in the Ministry of the Interior. Local committees were next formed to determine the language of instruction to be used in each school, to specify the dialect of Kurdish required, and to replace non-Kurdish-speaking staff. Repeated visits were paid to north and north-east 'Iraq by the King, the Amir Ghazi, the High Commissioner, and 'Iraqi ministers with the purpose of allaying suspicion, increasing personal contact, and collecting such information as would satisfy the still uneasy Mandates Commission. It was possible, at this stage, to hope for increasing coalescence of the Kurdish areas of 'Iraq, and that their nationalism, wisely handled, would weaken: hopes not impossible but unduly optimistic, since the high statesmanship which could have achieved these ends was not in sight. Yet, in adopting a hesitant attitude to Kurdish claims, the 'Iraq Government was not always unreasonable. These claims were at times frankly separatist, incompatible with an 'Iraq State as constituted, exacerbated by the abiding antipathy felt mutually between the two races, and not lessened by the signs of a more sympathetic or more generous attitude towards the Kurds by the British advisers than by 'Iraqi statesmen. The fear existed, in addition, that privileges granted to the Kurds would be demanded immediately by the Shi'is of the Euphrates, whose watchful jealousy remained a major element in the Arab-Kurdish question. It resulted that the entry of 'Iraq into the League was unmarked by any true solution of the problem of its unassimilated Kurdish minority. The Government, the British sponsors, and the League itself had to be content with palliatives and hopes.

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The same is true of that far smaller, more alien, and still less assimilable community, the Assyrians. Substantial numbers of these had by 1926 been settled in scattered Kurd-surrounded villages in Mosul liwā (p. 158). The completion of this process, further resettlement of the less satisfied, and improvement of the settlements were the tasks of the years 1927 to 1930. The High Commissioner's interest was shown by visits to the areas, by many conferences, and by invitations to Government to show all reasonable favour to the Assyrians, even though these, by their attitude of grumbling non-cooperation, in part frustrated the efforts of their well-wishers. A well-qualified Settlement Officer was employed, more villages cleared and reoccupied in the Ḥarir area of Rawanduz qaḍhā, advances of seed and money given to the reluctant settlers.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

Government showed its goodwill by legislating, in March 1927, for a scheme of temporary taxation exemptions.

By the end of 1925 not more than a few hundred houses, it was said, remained to be settled; by the end of 1929, only three hundred. The Baradost scheme had not materialized, thanks to conflicting land claims and Assyrian apathy; but the settlements around 'Amadiya, Zakho, Dohuk, the plains near 'Aqra, the Ḥarir lands of Rawanduz, and the Shaykhan district of Mosul had achieved a fair degree of stability. Thanks to fiscal privileges and the good farming of the villagers and their generally good standing with Kurdish landlords—half the settled lands being Kurdish owned, half State domain—their prosperity compared well with the current living-standards of the region. The relations of the Assyrian leaders with Government were at this period satisfactory, local Mudirs benevolent, and justice obtainable. Optimists could hope for as much assimilation of the ill-fated community as would retain it peaceably as a part of the 'Iraq body politic, no longer a depressed or oppressed alien element. The households of ex-Persian Assyrians who had settled in the towns, with employment in shops and workshops, the railways and the oil companies, the police and domestic service, were useful and self-supporting.

The Assyrian Levies—and there were by 1928 none but Assyrian—continued till the end of the Mandate to see active service in Kurdistan and to earn high praise. Reduction of their strength in favour of the 'Iraq Army began in 1926, and a number of Assyrian soldiers, without their officers, were so absorbed. Units were disbanded, a move of their headquarters and depots made in 1928 from the north to Hinaydi, and most of their posts in the northern highlands were relieved by the 'Iraq Army. From 1929 to 1932 the Levy force remained in being, and was used once more on operations against Shaykh Maḥmud; but it had seen its best days and was after 1932 to become a mere body of Air Force camp guards. The men released from it were given each a rifle and ammunition for self-protection in their new homes. The Levies, besides the contribution they could make to the economy of their own community, showed at their best an admirable smartness and willingness to adopt British standards, and excellent endurance, bravery, and skill in the mountain warfare which was highly congenial to them. Their faults were those of a strain of almost savage indiscipline which could appear in bad times, with outbreaks of looting and mass disobedience; a readiness to mix the grievances and politics of their community with their military duties: and their patent lack of loyal feeling towards 'Iraq. Their retention as British-administered imperial troops, the many contrasts and the sour ill-feeling between them and the 'Iraq Army, and their

1s Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

arrived in London on 20 June accompanied by three ministers, Yasin Pasha, Nuri Sa'id, and Rustum Ḥaydar. The visit was completely successful. The King, after his stay at Buckingham Palace, visited Scotland and Devonshire, then spent some days in London and some in Switzerland. But his health appeared to be seriously affected by the strains of the last twenty years, and he would willingly have rested for a further period in Europe, had not grave events recalled him urgently to Baghdad.

These events arose from the small, alien, unhappy Assyrian community of whose dilemma and attempted settlement much has been said in these pages. The Mar Sham'un, who spent the last six months of 1932 at Geneva but could accomplish nothing, returned in January 1933 to his restless and divided flock. Assyrian Levy officers, notably Yaqu son of Isma'il, had conducted a strong campaign in the Mar Sham'un's favour in the Dohuk–'Amadiya area. The 'Iraqi authorities had, on the contrary, weakened his prestige by their strict limitation of his powers to the spiritual field, and their treatment of Assyrians as normal members of the public. A strong anti-Patriarchal faction led by a Malik Khoshaba, with bishops and other Maliks, had secured the appointment of Khoshaba himself as President of the Advisory Committee for land settlement. The Mar Sham'un on his return, with his position weakened and all prospect of national migration or local consolidation dissipated, assumed an attitude of total refusal to co-operate with the Government-sponsored settlement, to conduct which the expected 'foreign expert', Major Thompson, arrived in Mosul in May 1933. The Patriarch, not content with spreading false suggestions regarding the settlement itself, threatened excommunication to any Assyrian who might participate in it; he was ready, some observers could not but feel, to sacrifice the interests of the community to the claims of his personal or hierarchical ambitions and resentments. In Mosul city Muslim-Assyrian feeling showed no improvement. An incident of stone-throwing at the windows of 'Iraqi Army officers was attributed to the Assyrians.

The Minister of Interior, Ḥikmat Sulayman, at this point wisely invited the Mar Sham'un to Baghdad, hoping for a personal understanding. But the antagonism was irremovable. The Minister, intelligibly if perhaps on the broadest view needlessly, bade his visitor surrender all claims to temporal power, even in the form urged by the Patriarch, which was that of adherence to the 'traditional customs of his people'. The Mar Sham'un addressed a letter full of complaints to the King on the eve of his departure for Europe, accusing both 'Iraqis and British of persecution. Three weeks of vain conversations and waiting ended with irritation on both sides and the order of Ḥikmat Sulayman on 24 June that the

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563 657 Patriarch should not leave Baghdad until further notice. He remained accordingly at the Y.M.C.A. hostel. Telegraphed directions from King Faysal in London on and after 19 June ('under British pressure', as Baghdad statesmen averred) bade his ministers pacify and release the prelate; but these were not merely set aside as being too clearly destructive of Government prestige, but aroused anger in Baghdad at so misplaced an intervention. The Ikhā Government was in fact already gaining credit even from its critics for firmness against the 'Assyrian menace'. Moderating suggestions for the removal of General Bakr Ṣidqi from the military command at Mosul had been refused. This officer, a harsh and ambitious egoist not destitute of some social and considerable military gifts, had long been bitterly anti-Assyrian and already saw himself, perhaps, as their authorized destroyer.

The situation in the Assyrian areas and in Mosul deteriorated as summer set in. Yaqu and his friends had for months been touring with a formidable armed party, flouting Government's authority and orders and urging non-cooperation with the Settlement. Only after the dispatch of 'Iraqi troops to posts in the Dohuk area, with the object of assuring order and discouraging Yaqu, was it possible for Lieutenant-Colonel Stafford, the Administrative Inspector of Mosul liwā (and subsequent historian of these events) to make contact with Yaqu and with friendly firmness bring him to Mosul. News of this submission was telegraphed to the King in London, who again suggested the release of the Mar Sham'un, to be again refused. Yaqu's submission, however hesitating and insincere, was clinched at Mosul by a written promise to desist from agitation. This was followed by a meeting on 10 July at which a full statement of the Assyrian position in 'Iraq, and the difficulties which confronted their emigration from it, was made to them by the acting Mutaṣarrif and by Stafford. The next day all was cordiality between Government representatives and those of the party opposed to the Mar Sham'un. The latter's following, to whom the reasons for his detention in Baghdad were patiently re-explained, agreed to send spokesmen to visit him there. They left Mosul, Yaqu and Luqo among them.

They proceeded, however, not as expected to Baghdad but forthwith across the Tigris into Syria, there to demand permission to enter from the French officer at 'Ayn Diwar post; nor can it now be certainly established whether this decision was a sudden unpremeditated gesture of despair (as upholders of the Assyrians allege) or part of a plan inspired by, or at least known to, either the Mar Sham'un (who denied it) or his family in Mosul. Without waiting for permission, for which the frontier officer telegraphed to Beirut, the impetuous leaders sent word back to their villages alleging,

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with patent falsity, that the French welcome to Syria had been cordial, land was available, taxes on crops would be remitted. The clansmen, to a number of some 1,000, leaving their homes and families unprotected—certain sign that no act of violence was at that time contemplated—swarmed across the river at Faysh Khabur and below it, at a point where frontier rectification was presently intended (p. 218) in accordance with the recent delimitation.

The news of these moves reached Mosul on 20 July. It was received with suspicion, not unmixed with hopes that riddance of the Assyrians was in sight. Reports of river crossings multiplied, and qadhā officials did nothing to check the welcome exodus. The Army command, who not unwillingly saw in these movements a menace by the redoubtable Assyrian fighting men, dispatched troops to the Tigris to watch events from forward posts, and to deal, by disarmament, with any parties who might return into 'Iraq.

A new phase opened with information, on 27 July, that the French were allowing no more Assyrians to enter: if indeed any had yet entered Syria, since the western river bank was at the moment still 'Iraqi territory, untransferred. They declined also to apply, as might have been possible and as the 'Iraqi Foreign Minister specifically requested from the French chargé d'affaires, the Syro-'Iraqi Frontier Agreement whereunder tribal immigrants would be disarmed and moved inland from the border. A meeting between French and 'Iraqi officers was held at Faysh Khabur on 26 July, another on 2 August. At the latter, the French officer declared that the Assyrians would not be accepted in Syria, and that 336 rifles had been taken from the 415 armed men who had approached the frontier; and he took note of the emphatic 'Iraqi request that no armed Assyrians should recross into 'Iraq or that, if recross they must, sufficient notice should be given to the 'Iraqi authorities. The failure to observe this agreement, due rather to inefficiency than to malice, was a main factor in the tragedy which followed, and caused much of the 'Iraqi bitterness against the French.

News of these events, represented as a dangerous movement, aroused violent anti-Assyrian and anti-Christian feeling in Baghdad. The Government, delighted to play the rôle of protector of 'Iraqi interests against a grave danger, did not minimize 'the menace', did not contradict whispers that Great Britain was behind this plot of their protégés, and let the public offer an indifferent welcome to the King as he returned alarmed and apprehensive from Europe on 2 August. He was to stay for a month in his capital, powerless to influence a position whose facts he never appreciated, and whose emotional violence swept all before it.

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652 these to any party other than the 'Iraq Government itself. A much less favourable offer, of a loan of £1 million only, was the result. It was duly negotiated, but neither the Government nor the British lenders escaped criticism. This was 'Iraq's first self-incurred external debt.

645 The presence of forces hostile to the régime did not materially interfere with an Administration equal in quality to its predecessors but, in disappointment of early hopes, not superior to them. In foreign affairs and in some internal developments, which later 563 pages will describe, some progress was made. But to one problem 618 no approach to a solution appeared—that of the Assyrians. Their case, after the massacre of August 1933, had been hurried on to the agenda of the League Council by the Mar Sham'un's telegrams from Cyprus; and in October the 'Iraq Government, through the mouth of Yasin Pasha, offered a disarming admission of 'unjustifiable severity' by the Army and regrettable tribal looting. He pleaded for a fresh start for the Assyrians—in another country! The British attitude, disappointing to the more fervid partisans of the Assyrians, was determined by the desire to preserve and support the independent 'Iraq State: by realization of the grave consequences of any physical intervention, to which anyhow British opinion could never be reconciled: and by awareness that the faults were far from being all on one side. The Council agreed, accordingly, that a Committee of six, composed of representatives of Great Britain, Italy, France, Denmark, Mexico, and Spain, should by every means seek alternative accommodation, somewhere in the world, for the Assyrian community.

This Committee's attempts were immediate and vigorous, but sadly unsuccessful. A project for settlement in Brazil seemed promising, but fell to the ground when the Brazilian Government reversed its welcoming attitude. A British plan for settlement in Guiana, and a French project for the banks of the Niger, came equally to nothing after League missions, with Brigadier Browne, had visited the territories. By the end of 1934 no progress had been made.

563 In 'Iraq their resettlement on the land proceeded with weary 657 slowness in spite of Government encouragement and the offer of a house-by-house subsidy. The great majority of the community favoured withdrawal from 'Iraq; and false hopes of this were kept alive by the Mar Sham'un's partisans, while the anti-Patriarchal party declared roundly that they would never settle in the same territory as the Mar Sham'un and his following. The camp at Mosul was, with increasing reluctance, kept in existence at Government expense, but was reduced by encouraged departures; its inmates fell from 1,250 to 650 during 1934. More hopeful was

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the French reception in Syria of the families of the 550 Assyrians interned there since August 1933. Aided by a grant of money from 'Iraq, these women and children joined their men on the upper Khabur in September 1934 to a number of over 1,500. Movement from the Mosul camp and streets to the Khabur continued in 1935 to a number of some 1,500, and a more grandiose scheme for a large-scale settlement in the Ghab lands on the Orontes in Syria was formulated by the League Committee. A project for its finances, with 'Iraq and Great Britain as main contributors, was established and a Trustee Board appointed. In 1936 an immediate transfer of 15,000 Assyrians was planned, which would dispose of almost the whole remaining community except those native to 'Iraq; but the difficulties of the Ghab project were found insurmountable, and its abandonment made possible a move only of smaller numbers, 2,500 in all, to the Khabur settlements. No further progress was made under the Ḥikmat-Ṣidqi régime, and the permanence of the Assyrian remnant in 'Iraq was perforce accepted. Their economic rehabilitation was by now fairly advanced, and their final adaptation to 'Iraqi conditions and citizenship could be hoped.

The event which caused the fall of the Sulaymani Ministry after less than nine months of uneasy life was due neither to constitutional procedures, which rarely operated to change Governments in 'Iraq, nor to any grouping of the Opposition forces. Its origin lay in rancour within the Army itself, where careers had been ruined and malevolence excited by the abused omnipotence of Bakr. The bodyguard by which at all times he went surrounded had saved him from previous attempts on his life during 1937; but when on 8 August, *en route* for a visit to Turkish manœuvres, he waited on the Mosul airport, his murderers, by whomever instructed, could carry out one of the alternative plans prepared. He was shot dead at point-blank range by an 'Iraqi soldier, and his companion Muḥammad 'Ali Juwad, chief of the R.I.A.F., lived but a minute longer.

The bodies were taken to Baghdad and buried with full military honours. Little regret, but rather the almost unanimous relief of public and press, accompanied the General to his grave: not unjustly, since the pages of 'Iraq history which he had written were in all ways deplorable. In Mosul the Military Commander, General Amin al-'Umari, arrested the murderer, cordoned the airport, and assumed sole charge of the city. Ordered by Baghdad to arrest further named individuals as accomplices, he at first complied, then realized the dangerous possibilities of a general purge of Bakr's known opponents. Six days after the murder he took the grave step of publishing a proclamation in which he

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185 The Ministry of Social Affairs, inspired by Dr. Sami Shawkat
• 657 on the orthodox lines of Axis philosophy, pressed for a higher birth-rate and legislated for the encouragement of lower dowries and earlier marriages. It urged the fuller development of trade unionism, and for the first time enforced the law which restricted certain trades (p. 246) to 'Iraqis. A bill was introduced to compel landowners in successive zones to build cottages for their cultivators. The Department of Antiquities, with Seton Lloyd as its Adviser from 1939, conducted excavations at Samarrā and at Jabal Sinjar in 1939, and at the site of Wasiṭ in 1939–41; a German expedition dug at Warqa also in 1939.

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648 In politics the movement, from the early summer of 1940 onwards, was from doubt towards decision, from a pretended unity towards evident faction. As the war of inaction in Europe gave place to a series of German successes, with the collapse of France and the entry of Italy, many 'Iraqis could see in adhesion to Great Britain little but self-condemnation to the losing side. The Army leaders, pro-Axis by temperament and by absorbed propaganda, saw no case for hesitation; in every Anglophobe old rancours found anew the support of logic and of national interest; and the prudent or uneasy of most political colourings admitted the value of at least a tacit reinsurance with the probable victors. The failure of final efforts in the summer of 1940 to wring from the British some reassurance over Palestine, or some hopeful countenance to the 'liberation' of Syria, was exploited by the Mufti and his many friends. Syrian ministers visiting Baghdad late in the year—Jamil Mardam Bey, Sa'dullah Jabri, and Luṭfi Ḥaffar—were fêted with enthusiasm as partners in the struggle against imperialism. Diplomatic relations with Denmark had been dutifully broken off when it was overrun by Hitler; but with Italy, whose Legation in Baghdad was now the centre of Axis activity, no breach was enforced when Mussolini entered the war on 10 June, and the British Ambassador's remonstrances went unheeded; the few Italians interned were soon liberated and returned to Italy. Nuri's influence failed on this and similar issues to carry the Cabinet with him, and one minister, Amin Zaki, resigned. The tone of the press passed from dubious neutrality to overt favour of the Axis, rather encouraged than restrained by the Prime Minister. Later in the year the difficulty or indeed impossibility found by Great Britain in supplying military equipment to 'Iraq, and her reluctance to provide dollars to buy arms for an ally so half-hearted, led to angry resentment in 'Iraq officialdom and the Army, and to the dispatch of an 'Iraqi purchasing mission to the United States.

The joint visit to Ankara of Nuri Sa'id and Naji Shawkat late in

1s Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

19,000 in 1945, largely by the addition of nearly 5,000 men to the Mobile Force. In the Social services the tendency was still towards such limited development and improvement of the personnel as was feasible, though budget allotments to Education were reduced to a third, and those of the Health service to a quarter, of the funds made available for Defence.

The release of the remaining 'Amara internees in mid-1944 and at intervals in 1945 made its contribution to the resurgent political activity of the time. The fourth member of the Golden Square, Ṣalaḥ al-Din Ṣabbagh, was handed over by the Turks and hanged in September 1945. Naji Shawkat, captured in Italy, was brought to Baghdad and began to serve his sentence; Rashid 'Āli, refused entrance into Switzerland, contrived to reach Sa'udi Arabia by way of Lebanon and there, sheltered by the traditional Arab attitude to guests seeking sanctuary, could defy demands for extradition. The activity of the Baghdad press and the multiplication of its daily sheets from five to fourteen was both effect and partial cause of the reanimation of the political scene which had well begun before 8 May 1945, the date of the armistice with Germany. The old-fashioned catch-words of 'imperialism', 'the foreigner', and 'complete independence' reappeared in a thousand bitter leading articles, the situation in Palestine and Syria gave congenial topics, and the economic frustrations of the time—and indeed all of the nation's backwardness and inequalities—were, it appeared, the fault of nothing but the sinister machinations of the British. The demand for the re-formation of political parties was heard on every side, and with it the removal of all restrictions and the early revision of the Treaty with Great Britain as being no longer compatible with 'Iraq's present status.

Communism, never extinguished in Baghdad even when outlawed in 1938, gained ground perceptibly in the later war years. Communists had supported Rashid 'Āli in 1941, but on the Nazi invasion of Russia had temporarily abandoned the anti-British for the Allied cause, and remained in the cities as a living though mainly clandestine force. One such organization was the League of 'Iraqi Communists which, catering for an educated membership, followed the lawyer Da'ud al-Ṣayigh; another, the 'Iraqi Communist Party under the Christian 'Comrade Fahad' (the Panther), alias Yusif Salman, produced the secretly-printed *al-Qa'ida* newspaper. The movement gained adherents in Kurdistan, where the proximity of the Russians in north-west Persia attracted the hopeful interest of anti-Arab nationalist students and of Aghās now learning to despair of British intervention on their behalf. It spread in Baghdad and the chief cities among the poor and thwarted (not least among the Assyrian, Armenian, and Jewish minorities),

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

the Minister of the Interior; and Barzan area was transferred from Mosul liwā to Arbil. But the restless ambition of the Barzani was incorrigible. Alleging British support—a fantastic fiction believed by many both in Barzan and in Baghdad—he harried the valleys far beyond his own area, seized Government stores at Margasur, and occupied police posts. Forced to act, the Army advanced in September in three columns towards his fastnesses, while the R.I.A.F. bombed his followers and properties. A police column advanced from 'Amadiya, and the Turks aided by closing their frontier. The Army column from 'Aqra was soon in trouble and its line of retreat threatened. It was rescued, and the position restored, only by the success of the Minister of Interior in raising, for ready money, irregular tribal forces under such of the Barzani's neighbours as welcomed the chance to pay off old scores and be subsidized for doing it. Mullā Muṣṭafā and his army, hard pressed from every side, crossed now 2,000 strong into Persia, there to find ready welcome and support. He could now drink deep of Russian-sponsored Kurdish nationalism in its active centre at Mahabad: could consult with the ambitious Qadhi Muḥammad, leader of the movement, with open Russian support: and could concert plans with him and his Democratic Party for a Kurdish State astride the frontier, a State to be closely associated with the Adharbayjan Republic now similarly forming under the Russians at Tabriz. On 15 December 1945 a Kurdish People's Government was inaugurated at Mahabad by Qadhi Muḥammad in the honoured presence of Mullā Muṣṭafā and Soviet officers. A week later Qadhi Muḥammad was elected President, a Parliament was formed, and the Mullā with other supporting tribal leaders was promoted Field-Marshal and decked in full Russian uniform.

It was natural that Baghdad's request for the disarming and extradition of its rebel subjects should be unheeded. But at least the campaign was over and the enemy, by whatever means, dispersed; the Army could be thanked for its efforts and decorated by the Regent, while the Prime Minister himself toured the north. All efforts were made to re-establish administration and show goodwill by the early erection of schools, dispensaries, and police posts. A court martial was convened at Arbil for the trial of Barzani rebels, and summoned more than a hundred, including Mullā Muṣṭafā and Shaykh Aḥmad, to appear before it. The two brothers and thirty of their followers, including three Army officers, were condemned to death in absence, and seventy more to life imprisonment.

Though a period of peace followed, no part of the Kurdish problem had been solved. With their social structure, ideas of 'Government', and feudal leadership, any early prospect of a real national autonomy must be fanciful, unless total anarchy be

3: Clark S-5 (1950)1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS

SOCIAL FACTORS

Alongside these economic and administrative problems are a number of social factors which inhibit educational development.

Illiteracy and Health Problems. For many years it is likely that illiteracy among the adult population, and the state of the public health, will constitute obstacles to the extension of primary education, especially in the rural areas. The reasons for this are obvious. Parents who are themselves illiterate and living at a low standard of life are not easily persuaded that schooling is a worthwhile substitute for the work of their children. Neither are they able to provide in their homes those standards and values which, if the training of the schoolroom is not be negatived, are such necessary reinforcements to public education. Similarly, the prevalence of epidemic and endemic disease, together with inadequate sanitation, also contributes to a major health problem which must be taken into account in attempting to ensure regular school attendance.

Yet while obstacles of this kind exist, they are diminishing. The Public Health Service is developing slowly but surely, and one has only to see a doctor at work in a remote rural area to appreciate the devoted service which is beginning to contribute to a solution of some of the health problems. Again, although illiteracy and poverty are not the best friends of education, one has only to visit remote little village schools to realize that some of the poorest parents are making sacrifices to send their children to school.

Before compulsory education can be achieved, however, even assuming that the money for it will be forthcoming, a vigorous attack on adult illiteracy will be essential. To this end, what is needed in the rural areas is a type of school which, in addition to meeting the needs of the children, provides in a practical and non-academic fashion realistic fundamental education for the parents. The teacher training institutions would make a most valuable contribution if, quite apart from training the future teachers to attend to the needs of children, they also initiated them into the more practical techniques of teaching illiterates the fundamentals of better living.

The Position of Women and Children. Another obstacle to educational and social development which is often quoted is the position of women in a society which is predominantly Muslim. Traditionally women are discouraged from taking part in public life, and this attitude is bound to be reflected in education.

4: Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Kurd MAN

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Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe
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resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a pleasant lilt. 535
Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

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Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Juj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

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Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Kurd MH1

Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Irani Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

4: Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Levantine Jews MF1

Jews

J 174 The Jews in 'Iraq are said to be the descendants of those taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar and brought to Babylon, where they were employed on the rebuilding of that city and on the upkeep of the canals on which its wealth depended.

J 871 176 784 403 In Mosul till recently the Jewish standard of education was lamentably low and their religious observances entirely out of keeping with those of modern Jewry. Even there, however, an astute Jewish brain invented an instrument controlled by clockwork to turn on and off electric switches at fixed hours and so avoid the sin of making fire on the Sabbath.

J 871 The very generous Jewish philanthropist Sir Elly Khaduri, has in recent years provided funds to build excellent schools for the community, and it is hoped that a great improvement in the education of the Jewish children will result.

I 162 563 J 286 101 142 463 J 101 463 631 In Kurdistan, Jews of whom many are weavers are found in all the small towns and also in many otherwise purely Kurdish villages, where they live in perfect amity with their Muslim neighbours. In dress they are practically indistinguishable from the Kurds but easily recognizable by their facial features. In the most remote mountain areas Jewish villages exist the inhabitants of which are cultivators and possess vineyards and orchards. The reason for the survival of these villages in the lawless past is that they and their inhabitants were the property of powerful Kurdish Aghas who were strong to protect their serfs as they would have protected their sheep, cattle or mules. Throughout Kurdistan the ubiquitous itinerant Jewish pedlar may be met who, quite unarmed, is surprisingly immune from molestation.

J 181 186 The Jews of northern 'Iraq are not at all interested in Zionism and form a very useful, law-abiding, hard-working section of the population.

I 182 It is difficult, if not impossible, within the compass of a short lecture, to give an adequate description of the curious elements who make up the attractive mosaic of northern 'Iraq. In the not very distant past the 'Iraq Government has incurred, and rightly incurred, strong criticism of its treatment of some of the peoples who go to make up this mosaic. It should be realized, however, that the administration of the Mosul and Arbil provinces and the solution of the diverse and difficult problems they present is a matter which might well test the skill and patience of any government, even if far more experienced than that of the new state of 'Iraq.

4s Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI

DISCUSSION

Mrs. Soane-Ellis: Might I ask if the lecturer has any information as to the whereabouts of Sheikh Mahmud? The last time I saw him he was a prisoner at Ramadi. 000

Major Wilson: I cannot say whether he is exactly a prisoner now, but he certainly would not be allowed to go back to Sulaimaniyyeh.

Brigadier J. G. Browne: May I ask what is the position of the Pizhder Kurds under the present Government? 657 563

Major Wilson: There has been a slight extension of police control, but, as far as I know, real administration has not yet been established over the Pizhder.

The Chairman: It remains, I think, only for me to sum up what we have learnt. We see here again the extraordinary importance of the question of roads in establishing the authority of the Government among mountain peoples. We are building roads on the North-West Frontier of India. And here we have seen the roads that are being built through Kurdistan, like Mr. Hamilton's very fine achievement, the making of the road through the Rowanduz Gorge. I believe the account of the building of that road is going to be published shortly, and it should make a book well worth reading. 653 657

We have seen some extraordinarily interesting slides. And we have learnt some valuable information about the present position of the Assyrians. From what the lecturer says, the best plan now would appear to be rather to leave them alone where they are. The other plan was to have been to move them to an extremely suitable site on the Orontes River. But unfortunately the lands chosen had been sequestrated from their original owner, who had been in trouble. When M. Blum came into office, he decided he could deal with this case, reinstated the man in question, and restored his lands. So that scheme necessarily came to nothing, and it is quite impossible on other grounds now for the Assyrians to go there. But one gathers that it is wisest not to agitate on their behalf, nor to stir them up, for that only makes them very unpopular in the country. They are finding employment to some extent in the oil-fields, and as guards and station masters on the railways and in similar employment, and one can hope things may settle down and that they will stay in their own country. 186 463

We must thank our lecturer, not only for the good work he has obviously done in 'Iraq, but also for the excellent and informative lecture he has given us this evening. 000

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

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The most important links with the people are, of course, those who belong to them and who work among them: that is, the dispensary *medical assistants* and *midwives* in villages and the midwives and public health nurses in the towns. *Maternal and child welfare centers* in towns could also provide health education. There are already a few centers operating in Baghdad but there is a great need to open more centers throughout the country as soon as trained staff are available. The proposed house-to-house inspectors, sanitary overseers and sanitary inspectors could all be most valuable teachers.

There is no doubt that *health weeks* would stimulate great interest and health exhibits could be included in agricultural and other shows (e.g. to display measures designed to prevent the spread of malaria, schistosomiasis, etc.). Travelling vans giving film shows might also be of some use.

Elected *public health committees* of the village elders, advised by the medical assistant or visiting doctor, might do much to improve conditions in villages. *Mobile dispensaries* should include in their staff a sanitary inspector and a health visitor (public health nurse) who could go round the village while the doctor is seeing patients.

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It should be noted that the government plans to inaugurate a rural health center at Abu Ghuraib, which is designed to provide curative and preventive services for the population of the area and at the same time serve as a practical field for training rural health workers, with particular emphasis on the control of communicable diseases and maternal and child health. It has requested advice from the World Health Organization on the planning and establishment of the center. Accordingly, in 1950, provision was made under the technical assistance budget of the World Health Organization for a rural health survey. Provision has been made under the 1952 technical assistance budget for one public health administrator with general experience in rural health, one [illegible]ologist, one sanitarian, and two public health nurses, one [illegible]eral experience and one with the experience in midwifery. It is expected that the government will submit a request to UNICEF for appropriate supplies and equipment. At a later stage the program may be developed in cooperation with other specialized agencies.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

Chamber of Deputies. The deputies are elected on the basis of one to every 20,000 male Iraqi subjects. Every bill must be submitted to each Assembly in turn and then approved by the King.

The Cabinet consists of at least seven ministers, including the Prime Minister, under whose presidency it meets, and any ministers without portfolio. The Prime Minister is chosen by the King, who also appoints the other ministers on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The ministers are responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, jointly in matters which concern the ministries and severally in what concerns their respective ministries and the departments under them.

The ministries are those of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Interior, Social Affairs, Defence, Justice, Education, Economics, Communications and Works, Health and Agriculture.

Administration

Iraq is divided into fourteen main administrative districts, or *liwas*. These are the *liwas* of Mosul, Arbil, Kirkuk, Sulaimania, Diala, Baghdad, Kut, Dulaim, Hilla, Kerbela, Diwaniya, Muntafiq, Amara, and Basra. Each *liwa* is administered by a *mutasarrif*, who is responsible to the Ministry of the Interior but is also the agent and representative of the other ministries.

Armed Forces and Police

The Iraqi army has an establishment of three divisions, comprising one mountain division, one plains division, and a cadre division which includes a mechanized force. There are a cadet and staff college and the usual service training schools. Military training is compulsory in Iraq for all men between 18 and 25, the period of actual service being 1½–2 years. Students of the secondary, technical, and religious schools are exempt, and exemption may in any case be bought after three months' training by a payment of ID50. Iraq has a small but efficient and expanding air force equipped with British operational aircraft. A flying training college has recently been established.

The police force, with a total strength of over 20,000, has a militarized force of 5,000 including a mechanized regiment, and a small camel corps which patrols the deserts in co-operation with armoured cars.

Public Health

Malaria, enteric fever, bilharzia, amoebic and bacillary dysentery, tuberculosis, ankylostomiasis, venereal diseases, and

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 MI Middle East
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helminthosis are endemic. There are occasional outbreaks of smallpox, typhus, and more rarely plague and cholera. With the greater provision in the budget for schemes of public health, the increased employment of international specialists and the considerable assistance tendered by the World Health Organization, there is every prospect that the incidence of endemic diseases will be greatly reduced. Fundamental results may be expected from modern medical training, with emphasis on the environmental aspects of disease and the need for prevention as much as or even more than cure, and, above all, from the efforts of the administration to improve the environment itself, with especial reference to drainage and water-supply. In addition, attention is to be paid to the public health aspects of the pilgrimages. The curative services have in general received more attention than the preventive and have improved considerably in the past thirty years. Simple conditions are treated in some 400 state dispensaries, distributed fairly evenly throughout the country but varying in their equipment and staff; it has hitherto proved difficult to attract doctors to the provinces and particularly to the rural districts. Each *liwa* centre has a general hospital, the larger towns more than one. There are also specialized hospitals for maternity and child welfare, for infectious, chest, eye, venereal, and mental diseases, and for lepers. The army, police, railways, Port of Basra, Ministry of Education, and oil companies maintain their own medical services and hospitals, and there are in addition an American Mission Hospital and a number of private nursing homes. A five-year programme, financed by the Development Board, will provide for the repair, extension, and replacement of medical buildings which have become old or inadequate. There is an acute shortage of well-trained nurses; attempts to expand the service are hampered by the reluctance of Muslim girls of good family to enter it.

Education

The state provides elementary, intermediate, secondary, and higher education, all, since December 1952, completely free. There are also private and foreign schools on a kindergarten, elementary, intermediate, and secondary level.

State Education. Primary education, by law universal and compulsory where facilities exist, begins at the age of six and continues for six years. It has been limited by a shortage of schools and trained teachers, especially in the villages. Plans are in hand to meet the need. The rapid expansion of state primary education is demonstrated in the following table:

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH

Iraq each capable of manufacturing 10,000 tons of sugar per annum from sugar beet to be grown locally, a bitumen plant, and a small steel plant. In addition the Government is investigating the recommendation of the International Bank mission[1] for the erection of a chemical plant at Kirkuk to produce ammonium sulphate fertilizer, cement, sulphur, and carbon black. The mission has also recommended plants for manufacturing bone-meal fertilizer, date-packing crates and motor-car tyres, and for batching concrete, converting steel scrap into building components, and possibly for remelting glass.

Labour

Conditions of work and employment are regulated by a Labour Law (1936–46), which so far relates only to 'workmen' (a term requiring more precise definition) in industrial undertakings. It is in process of revision and extension. Its application is supervised by the Department of Labour and Social Security, which maintains a small corps of inspectors. This department, advised by foreign experts, proposes to experiment with employment exchanges, is starting to compile labour statistics, is undertaking a programme of housing for labour, and is examining plans of social security, for which the existing Labour Law already contains some provision in the form of indemnities on discharge, paid sick and confinement leave, and compensation for injuries. Safety and sanitary working conditions are covered generally by the Labour Law and made obligatory in greater detail by a Workshops and Factories Regulation (1937). In January 1953 it was stated that new provisions, for eventual inclusion in the new Labour Law, had been drafted for establishing wage boards, regulating disputes, and determining the rights, obligations, and administration of trade unions, which are not clearly defined in the existing Labour Law. The latter grants industrial workers the right to establish associations to safeguard their special interests, strengthen the spirit of co-operation, effect educational, cultural, hygienic, social, and moral improvements, and develop Iraqi industry. A few trade unions exist; their membership is small and activity slight. Others have been suspended for subversive activity. The movement is still rudimentary.

Communications

Railways.[2] The railways constructed by the British forces during the Mesopotamian Campaign eventually formed the

[1] See above, p. 275.

[2] This section is based on the *Directory of Railway Officials and Year Book*, 1952–3.

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647 652 185 "We have been impressed by the ingenuity of the attempt to cover a large part of the cost of the existing centres by the voluntary contributions of the direct beneficiaries. It is clear, however, that the method of raising funds by voluntary contributions is preventing the rapid expansion of the benefits of the scheme to cover the majority of the rural population. It may therefore be desirable, as part of the land redistribution and fiscal reform of the country now in progress, to set aside a large proportion of the national [illegible] resulting from taxation to provide free basic services for the welfare of the fellaheen, as and when the necessary personnel and supplies become available.

"If the provision of free services is thought to compromise the principle of self-help upon which the centres have been founded, an alternative might be to maintain the existing structure of State subsidy to locally contributed funds, but at the same time to introduce the principle of compulsory membership, and individual contribution to running expenses, on a system of local option. That is to say, in each village the majority of adult inhabitants would decide whether the local contribution to the cost of a centre (which would be open to all free of cost) should be met from a graduated levy. The amount of each individual contribution would be determined on according to capacity to pay or on some other equitable basis."

OUU 42. At the meeting of the inter-ministerial committee which we attended at the close of our mission, we were invited to participate in a discussion of ways and means of ensuring that the technical advice and guidance, - which already exist in each of the departments of public service and have been created for the welfare of the community at large - are better co-ordinated and decentralized and made available more directly and more extensively to the fellaheen. A full exchange of views took place and we were happy to find that the Ministers had anticipated many of the criticisms and suggestions that had occurred to our minds.

IRAQ

(Visited 8 - 12 January)

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642 131 161 43. Iraq is a constitutional monarchy, with territory covering 168,400 square miles and a population of approximately 5,000,000. The country has great economic potentialities which until recently have not been adequately exploited. Income per capita does not yet exceed 30 Iraqi dinars (approximately US$84). In the past the predominance of the tribal system has impeded a redistribution of lands now recognized as necessary. The abundance of government-owned lands which will become cultivable under modern methods and extended irrigation is expected to facilitate the distribution of land on the basis of small property ownership without intermediary of tribal chiefs.

434 423 483 185 Iraq has large possibilities of land reclamation: i.e. the country can feed a larger population than it actually has, and there is in the near future no danger of over-population, even assuming that the death rate is lowered by various measures.

● 657 185 44. We were assured by one Minister with whom we had the privilege of discussing the standard of living of so many of the poorer sections of the community that the evils from which the country was suffering were well known, and that a partial explanation of many of the difficulties hitherto experienced in effecting necessary improvements was to be found in a lack of co-ordination between existing health and education

services. "The disease has been recognised", he said, "what was required was that medicine for the prescription should be supplied and the patient taught how to take that medicine". The same Minister informed us that he himself, as a young man called upon to draft a new educational programme, had included in it the provision of community centres, but that unfortunately this feature of the scheme had not materialised. 657 185

45. Community welfare organization on a self-help basis in Iraq is, indeed, as yet in its infancy. Some observers consider that an indispensable preliminary to its development is to create in the minds of a people long under the influence and domination of a feudal tribal system an effective desire for self-government.

46. As is generally known, Iraq is rich in oil resources and it is the policy of the Government to transfer mineral wealth into productive capital for the general welfare. A statutory Development Board was established in 1950 to ensure continuity of economic policy, regardless of political changes. Seventy per cent of the income from oil revenues is allocated to the Board as revenue for projects of water conservation, flood control, irrigation, drainage, industry, mining, etc. The Board is also responsible for co-ordinating the development schemes in these fields initiated by the various ministerial Departments. Over 200 foreign technicians are listed as working in Iraq in formulating a variety of development schemes, mostly relating to economic improvements. Some of the experts are in the direct employ of the Iraq Government; others have been assigned to the Government for short periods for specific purposes by agencies and organizations furnishing technical assistance on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Relatively few technicians have so far been concerned with social developments, but the country's needs in this respect have, we understand, been partially surveyed. 651 382 185 491

47. In the absence of detailed documentation, we left it to the Government agencies most directly concerned with the subject of our mission to determine whom we should see and to suggest which projects or institutions we should visit. 000

48. During our short stay in Baghdad we were able to visit at Tal Mohamed a well-constructed modern building designed to serve as a centre for community activities for the residents of a model housing estate constructed by the Ministry of Social Affairs for low-income government employees. Cheap transport facilities were available between Baghdad and the new estate, in which some 500 houses were already in occupation and more would be constructed as funds became available. The imposing building in which it is intended that community activities shall be carried out has been ready for use for more than a year but only some of the equipment and furniture (including seven beds for maternity cases) have been installed. A difficulty in finding suitable qualified staff has delayed the opening of the centre. When it is in full working order it is planned to offer nursing, educational and indoor and outdoor recreational facilities on modern lines. The general appearance of the centre and model village was marred by the state of the roads after heavy rains. 657 185 362

49. It is understood that centres similar to that at Tal Mohamed are planned for other urban areas. The Ministry of Social Affairs, which until recently formed part of the Ministry of Health, has also other plans under consideration for creating, with external technical assistance, pilot projects of community organization or demonstration centres, in urban as well as in rural areas.

50. A survey of Iraq villages jointly conducted by Mr. Gordon MacGregor (TCA adviser to the Ministry of Social Affairs) and Dr. Yusuf Khaddoury, M.D. (Officer in charge of international relations of that Ministry) reveals: 185 657

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"an almost universal need among the people for training in the fundamentals of farm practices and farm management for greater food production and income; training in the building of better homes; training of women in better home and child care; and for improvement of sanitation and general health conditions. Underlying these conditions are two basic problems: the lack of land owned by farmers on which they can build houses and raise sufficient food for themselves, and the lack of credit facilities by which they can advance themselves.

"The survey finds in general little development of strong local leadership and group organization among the villagers, through which self-help, management and development of their own affairs can take place. There appear as general characteristics dependence upon others, great expectations of help from the Government and few patterns of co-operative effort and confidence among the village people, beyond the confines of the family or local groups of relatives.

"The survey finds a framework of a governmental organization to serve the rural [illegible] and a land development programme on irrigated public lands. As yet, and [illegible] many very practical reasons, only a limited extension of government services in education, health and agriculture with assistance from several technical cooperation agencies is reaching the villages..."

The Survey accordingly recommends a national rural improvement programme to be undertaken eventually as a co-operative activity by the Ministers of Agriculture, Education, Health and Social Affairs, with assistance from her Ministries, the Development Board and Technical Assistance Agencies. With this recommendation we would have concurred but for the suggestion that in its early stages co-ordination should be effected by a new Department to be created in the Ministry of Social Affairs.

51. As will be gathered from an earlier chapter of our report, we had misgivings on this aspect of the proposal, the ultimate effect of which might be to alienate the sympathies of the other Ministries concerned and to lead to duplication of effort, instead of the desired co-ordination, at the village level of departmental activities intended to serve the community as a whole. Time did not permit of our discussing our point of view in detail with Dr. Khaddoury or his colleague, Mr. MacGregor, who was absent from Baghdad. We were informed that it was hoped to make provision for this scheme of rural reform in the 1953/1954 Budget of the Ministry of Social Affairs. The scheme has not been adopted or approved by the Council of Ministers at the time of our visit, and informal discussions which we had in other Departments left in our minds the impression that under closer examination modifications might be suggested from the outset.

The joint report of Mr. MacGregor and Dr. Khaddoury is included as Appendix (III), although the plan does not appear to have reached the stage at which it can be described as representing Government policy.

52. In some, if not all respects, the MacGregor-Khaddoury plan appears to have much in common with what we are able to learn of UNESCO's experiment in Fundamental Education now being carried out as part of the land reclamation and resettlement project at Dujailah, near Kut, some 110 miles south of Baghdad. Adverse weather conditions and the state of the roads prevented us from visiting the project but, by a fortunate chance we were able to meet Mr. Trowbridge, the present Director, during our stay in Beirut. Bad weather also made impossible a visit to another land scheme at Kirkenk to the north of the capital, which had only been started and where, we were told, some of the mistakes of the pioneering project had been avoided.

53. In the course of our interview with the Ministers of Health and Social Affairs and their officials, we were offered facilities, of which we were unable, however, to avail ourselves, for visiting single-purpose centres, e.g., homes for the aged and for the blind, a rehabilitation centre for crippled boys, hospitals, and maternity clinics all under official patronage and in some, if not every instance, receiving a State subsidy. In a working class district of Baghdad we did, however, visit a maternity clinic that had been started by the Red Crescent Society. It had recently come under the direction of an English woman doctor, assisted by, possibly, the only certified Iraqi Public Health nurse in the country. Both spoke of the improvement in health which was to be observed amongst the out-patients, and of the evident appreciation by the latter of the assistance afforded, but the shortage of milk for the infants was a matter of concern. Some benefit may come in this respect from the discussions then in progress between the Iraq Government and UNICEF for the provision of a pasteurising plant. The Ministry of Social Affairs have recently taken over from the Red Crescent Society the responsibility for the staff employed at the clinic and for providing certain necessary supplies and medicaments.

54. It is perhaps worth adding that the remarks made during our visit by the staff of the clinic on the subject of attempts to teach sewing to the out-patients while waiting for attention and the difficulty of keeping amused the numerous children who came with their mothers, suggests that there is scope at the clinic (and no doubt other similar institutions) for better educated women of leisure, many of whom contribute generously from their purses to such works, to undertake another simpler form of voluntary social service for which little or no preliminary training is required. Indeed, it is not impossible that with such assistance and under favourable conditions a rudimentary club or community centre might be developed for the women in the district whose standard of life is very low but who have shown a desire to improve it. A development on these lines would have the merit of encouraging educated women of leisure in Baghdad to take part in voluntary social services. It will be long before trained, professional social workers will be available in sufficient numbers for such duties. We had however, no opportunity of discussing these suggestions with anyone in a position to transform them into actuality.

55. We heard from Miss Govan (UNTAA expert) of a scheme with which she had been associated for training 25 young women as social workers. The scheme had made some progress but was momentarily hindered, partly by difficulties in providing local facilities for completing practical in-service training and in persuading the girls' parents to permit them to take up duty away from home.

56. Although we were met with every possible courtesy during our visit to Iraq, the fact that a caretaker Government was in office and a general election was about to take place created a situation in which it was pointless to discuss in detail with the departments concerned, future plans and policies for social development.

57. Recommendation. Until the Macgregor-Khadioury scheme has been more closely studied by the departments concerned and the necessary financial provision has been approved, we are unable to make any recommendations.

tables in season. Citrus fruits flourish in the irrigated areas of Kerbela province and in the Diyala river valley, while grapes, apricots and other fruits grow in various localities. Numerous species of dates are cultivated, especially in the Shatt al Arab and lower Euphrates basins: they represent one of the basic foods of the people.

The financial circumstances of most families prohibit the consumption of meat, except at irregular intervals. Sheep and goats are raised in large numbers, both by the settled and the nomadic peoples, and constitute the principal sources of meat. Fish are a valuable food among the peoples living in the river valleys and along the coast. Fowl are kept in the rural villages. Milk is a standard article of diet wherever it is obtainable. The milk of sheep or goats is most widely used, but that of cows, water buffaloes and camels is utilized in many areas. Milk is normally consumed in the form of buttermilk or a soured milk product, known as *leban*. Cheese is also made, but it is rarely as popular as in other Arab countries. Clarified butter and the fats derived from the tail tissues of the local breeds of sheep are important sources of fat among all population groups.

The least diversified diets are probably found among the nomadic tribes, who subsist on the products of their herds, supplemented by dates and wheat or barley breads. Camel's milk is employed by the nomadic Bedouin. The tribal Arabs of the southern marshes depend largely upon the milk of the water buffalo, fish and wild waterfowl, rice and occasional edible rushes.

Measures to raise the standards of nutrition among the various urban and rural groups are being studied by educational and health authorities. Improper feeding in infancy, particularly in the course of weaning, which is often deferred until the second year of life, is a factor contributing to the high mortality among young children. The organization of a national nutrition committee, to function in an advisory capacity to the governmental agencies concerned, and

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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146 of a nutrition institute with facilities for
●657 research has been proposed.

Housing

342 The dwellings of the rural cultivators, the nomads and the townspeople show considerable variation, conforming to the social customs of the people and the building materials at hand. The villages in the rural areas are typically compact. In the central plains, the houses are usually constructed of sun-dried mud bricks, with flat roofs of palm trunks covered with mud or palm leaves. They may contain one or several rooms opening into a central courtyard, and in the more prosperous families they sometimes have two stories. The livestock are sheltered in sheds in the compounds, in close proximity to the household. Stone replaces mud bricks in many sections of the northern highlands, where the roofs are built of mud or timber. In the mountain districts the villages often nestle on the hillsides surrounded by series of cultivated terraces.

In the south, the houses are traditionally made of woven reeds or palm fronds, although the compounds may be enclosed within mud walls. Woven reed, or *serifa*, huts are used by the seasonal laborers in the date groves, and are being introduced to an increasing extent by impoverished migratory workers in the cities of central and southern Iraq. In 1950, it was estimated that there were at least 60,000 *serifa* dwellers in Baghdad and 20,000 in Basra. Huts are put up on any convenient vacant plot of land and are frequently interspersed among the modern homes in the residential sections. Such *serifa* settlements, in which the living conditions are primitive, create serious public health hazards. More elaborate reed houses, built on islands or on brushwood or reed rafts, are characteristic of the villages of the "marsh Arabs" in the rice-growing areas and swamplands of the southern delta. In contrast, the nomadic peoples live in black tents of hair cloth or skins, of a type which has persisted for centuries.

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744 approval, but illegal slaughtering takes place in many areas. No effective control is carried out in the rural villages, where the animals are slaughtered locally.

234 744 Milk from cows and goats is marketed by large numbers of small producers. Government regulations exist for the sanitary inspection of dairies and the periodic tuberculin testing of cattle. In practice, however, few controls are exercised over the methods of production or the quality of the product. There is only one pasteurization plant in the country. This is located in Baghdad, and is operated by the government's Agriculture Department. It was established primarily for the purpose of supplying pasteurized milk to the child welfare centers, but a small percentage of its output is sold to private customers. Milk is customarily 234 164 boiled before use, but butter and cheese 232 are often vehicles for the spread of brucellosis and other diseases. Brucellosis is enzootic among the cattle and the goats, and bovine tuberculosis among the dairy herds.

HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

Health Organizations

744 657 Responsibility for the protection of the public health and for the provision of medical care facilities is centralized in the Ministry of Health of the Iraqi government, with headquarters in Baghdad. The Ministry was established in 1952, replacing the former Directorate General of Health in the Ministry of Social Affairs. Under the present organization, the Minister of Health is assisted by a Director General of Health, in charge of health and medical services, and by an Inspector General of Health. The Minister also has jurisdiction over the Royal Faculty of Medicine which administers the Royal Hospital and the Royal College of Medicine in Baghdad.

The functional activities of the Ministry are concentrated in two major divisions—curative medicine and preventive and social medicine—as well as in a number of admin-

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000 istrative branches. The Director of Curative
744 Medicine has supervision over 4 depart-
657 ments: hospitals, dispensaries and pharma-
743 cies; rural health; technical institutes, including 6 laboratory sections; and medical stores. Under the Director of Preventive and Social Medicine are departments of endemic diseases, sanitation, social health, quarantine and epidemics, vital statistics and disease registration. Subordinate sections dealing with maternal and child health, venereal diseases, pulmonary diseases and health propaganda are incorporated in the Department of Social Health, while supervision over the health services of both the province and the city of Baghdad falls within the scope of the Department of
742 Sanitation. The Department of Endemic Diseases carries on research and field programs for the control of malaria, schistosomiasis and hookworm infection, some of which were initiated by the then Institute of Endemic Diseases, created in 1949. Further changes in organization, making the Director of Preventive and Social Medicine a Director General immediately responsible to the Minister, were proposed in 1953.

746 Subordinate provincial organizations carry out the functions of the Ministry of Health in the 14 *liwas*, or provinces. Chief medical officers are appointed to each *liwa* and are responsible for the conduct of the various medical services. They undertake some public health activities, but, to a large extent, the preventive services are directed from Baghdad. Municipal health divisions are established in Baghdad and the principal cities.

744 Other ministries are also concerned in some measure with the public health. The Ministry of Education operates school health services in Baghdad and the larger urban centers, and introduces instruction in the basic principles of health through the schools in urban and rural areas. The Ministry of Economics has veterinary and agriculture departments: the former has meat and dairy inspection services; the latter runs an experimental farm and a pas-

combined capacity of 4,330 beds, were operated by the government health authorities; 4 hospitals with 153 beds by other governmental agencies; and 11 hospitals with 418 beds by industrial, mission or private organizations. Free medical care was provided in 4,475 beds, representing over 90 per cent of the hospital beds available in the country.

The Royal Hospital in Baghdad is foremost among the institutions under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health. It has medical, surgical, pediatric and infectious disease sections, with a total capacity of 650 to 750 beds. The remaining hospitals of the Ministry now come under the authority of the Director of Curative Medicine. According to the statistics for 1950, they included 42 general hospitals, with an aggregate capacity of about 2,300 beds, of which one or more in each province were Grade 1 hospitals under the supervision of medical officers. Maternity and child welfare divisions were incorporated in the general hospitals, which provided 962 beds for maternity cases and 134 beds for children. The special institutions consisted of 6 isolation hospitals with a total capacity of 596 beds, 3 ophthalmic hospitals with 79 beds, 2 venereal disease hospitals with 52 beds, 2 child welfare hospitals with 155 beds, 3 maternity and children's hospitals with 71 beds, a mental hospital of 120 beds, a leper hospital of 180 beds and 6 prison hospitals with 92 beds. A 400-bed tuberculosis sanatorium, which was sponsored in part by the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, was opened near Baghdad in 1951. Another 120-bed hospital in Basra was completed in 1952.

The American Mission hospital, with 38 beds, in Amarah and the new Seventh Day Adventist hospital, with 60 beds, in Baghdad are prominent among the private institutions. As of 1951, 3 hospitals with a combined capacity of 170 beds were operated by the Iraq Petroleum Company in the Kirkuk region. The medical facilities of the company in the oil field and the pipeline areas also included 20 detention camps, with

164 pulmonary infections, but tuberculous meningitis is common in young children. Among 838 cases of nonpulmonary tuberculosis admitted to the surgical wards of the Royal Hospital in the 4 years 1947-50,[34] over 26 per cent were diagnosed as lymphadenitis and over 21 per cent as infections of the spine.

164 743 The new 400-bed sanatorium opened near Baghdad under the joint auspices of the Anti-Tuberculosis Society and the government health authorities in 1951 was the first tuberculosis hospital in the country. Previously, facilities for the treatment of tuberculous cases were provided only in the provincial hospitals, or in sanatoria in Syria and Lebanon, where the Ministry of Health subsidizes about 200 beds for the use of Iraqi patients. Plans have been projected by the Ministry for the construction of tuberculosis hospitals in each of the provinces: a 120-bed hospital was completed in Basra in 1952, and it was anticipated that hospitals would soon be ready for use in Kirkuk and Mosul. As of 1950, the dispensaries available for the treatment of chest diseases totaled 6, of which 2 were located in Baghdad and one each in Mosul, Kirkuk Diwaniya and Sulaimaniya. X-ray laboratories were maintained in Baghdad, Kirkuk and Mosul.

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751 A BCG inoculation and tuberculin testing program was initiated by the Ministry in 1952, in conjunction with the World Health Organization and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. It is proposed to concentrate at first on the children and the adolescents in the larger cities. In 1952 also, the World Health Organization sponsored the establishment of a tuberculosis demonstration and training center at the Royal Hospital in Baghdad.

164 Smallpox. Epidemics of smallpox break out almost annually, and reach major proportions at intervals of 3 to 8 years. Since 1930, large-scale epidemics were reported in 1932-33, 1940-42, 1946 and 1948-49. In the 1932-33 outbreaks, the peak of incidence came in 1932, when 2,318 cases were re-